

Message Text

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EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARAS. 6. & 7.)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, IS, XF
SUBJECT: EBAN'S COMMENTS ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED

1. ON HIS INVITATION, I HAD LUNCH ON WEDNESDAY SEPT 13 WITH FONMIN ABBA EBAN. ALSO PRESENT WERE AVRAHAM KIDRON, DIRGEN MFA, EPHRIAM EVRON, DEPDIRGEN MFA, AND DCM. I RAISED WITH FONMIN HIS SEPT 4 COMMENTS ON THE LABOR PARTY DOCUMENT OUTLINING POLICY TOWARDS OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (TEL AVIV 7121). (SEPTELS HAVE BEEN SENT ON OTHER TOPICS DISCUSSED.)

2. EBAN WENT ON AT SOME LENGTH TO ASSERT THAT THE GALILI DOCUMENT WAS MISUNDERSTOOD AS A VICTORY FOR THE HAWKS WHEREAS, IN REALITY, IT REPRESENTED A TRIUMPH FOR THE MODERATES. HE MENTIONED THAT WHILE ON HIS TRIP TO NORTH AMERICAN HE HAD EVEN TELEPHONED SAPIR TO ASSURE HIMSELF THAT THE LINE WAS BEING HELD AGAINST DAYAN IN LABOR PARTY LEADERSHIP DISCUSSIONS. HE BLAMED THE MISUNDERSTANDING ABROAD ON THE FACT THAT INITIAL NEWSPAPER PUBLICITY HAD BEEN DISTORTED, CITING PRIMARILY THE PRO-DAYAN ENGLISH LANGUAGE JERUSALEM POST. (NOTE: I MADE CLEAR THAT OUR NORMAL SOURCES INCLUDED ALL HEBREW-LANGUAGE PAPERS AND THAT WE DID NOT RELY EXCLUSIVELY ON THE POST.)

3. EBAN THEN COMMENTED THAT FOREIGN MISUNDERSTANDING EXTENDED
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ALSO TO LYOVA ELIAV'S VIEWS. HE CLAIMED THAT A CAREFUL READING OF ELIAV'S VIEWS WOULD SHOW THAT THEY WERE NOT THAT MUCH DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF EBAN AND OTHER LIKE-MINDED LEADERS IN THE LABOR PARTY. EBAN REMARKED THAT, IN AN EFFORT TO DISPEL SOME

OF THE CONFUSION SURROUNDING THE GALILI DOCUMENT, ON MONDAY HE BACKGROUNDED JERUSALEM REPS OF NYTIMES, AP AND TIMES OF LONDON. THE TRUTH CONCERNING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GALILI DOCUMENT, HE SAID, SHOULD BE EVIDENT TO ANYONE WHO CAN "READ OR WRITE."

4. I ASKED EBAN IF ALL OF THE OTHER LABOR PARTY LEADERS SHARED HIS VIEWS ON THE GALILI DOCUMENT. HIS REPLY WAS "THOSE WHO CAN READ AND WRITE" SHARED HIS VIEW; THIS WAS QUICKLY FOLLOWED BY QUALIFICATION "DIFFERENT PEOPLE MAY READ THE SAME THING DIFFERENTLY," AND ASIDE BY EVRON THAT IT ALSO DEPENDS ON WHETHER YOU READ "WITH ONE OR TWO EYES" -- IN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO DAYAN. EBAN ALSO EMPHASIZED (AS HAD SPEAKER OF KNESSET WHOM I CALLED ON EARLIER IN DAY - MEMCON FOLLOWS) THERE IS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CAMPAIGN RHETORIC AND POST-ELECTION GOVERNMENT POLICY.

5. EBAN MADE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC POINTS IN GALILI DOCUMENT:

A. IT MOST IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT GALILI DOCUMENT SPECIFICALLY REFERS TO FACT THAT NOTHING IN PROPOSED GOI POLICY WOULD CHANGE LEGAL OR JURIDICAL POSITION OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

B. ANY PRIVATE PURCHASES OF LAND IN WEST BANK WOULD BE TIGHTLY CONTROLLED AND PROBABLY CONFINED TO CERTAIN AREAS AROUND JERUSALEM AND KALKILYA SALIENT NEAR NATANYA. MRS. MEIR IS ON RECORD AS BEING AGAINST SALE OF LAND TO INDIVIDUALS. SO IS HE, AND HE PLANS TO BE ON THE CABINET COMMITTEE WHICH WOULD ADMINISTER THE SALES PROGRAM.

C. THE PROPOSED SETTLEMENT AT RAFAH JUNCTION IS A FAR CRY FROM DAYAN'S PLANS FOR A METROPOLIS OF 250,000 AND A DEEPWATER PORT. HE ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE PROPOSED SETTLEMENT MEANT THAT THE GOI WOULD DESIRE TO OBTAIN TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS IN THIS AREA IN ANY EVENTUAL NEGOTIATIONS. IN DEVELOPING THIS THOUGHT, EBAN THREW OUT THE IDEA THAT ARAB ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE RAFAH JUNCTION AREA COULD VERY WELL ALLOW ISRAEL TO BE LESS DEMANDING ABOUT THE NATURE OF ISRAELI PRESENCE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE SINAI, INCLUDING SHARM EL-SHEIKH. HE THEN SPECULATIVELY LINKED IDEA OF AN ISRAELI RAFAH JUNCTION TO
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NOTION OF POLITICAL TIE FOR GAZA STRIP TO JORDAN AND THE WEST BANK, THEREBY ALLOWING HUSSEIN TO PORTRAY HIMSELF AS KING OF THE PALESTINIANS.

6. AS CONCERNS THE POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IN INTERIM PERIOD BEFORE FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT IS REACHED, EBAN DID NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF MOVING FROM MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS TO DISTRICT ELECTIONS AT SOME FUTURE TIME. HE NOTED THAT THE "SECURITY PEOPLE" ALWAYS OBJECT TO SUCH PROPOSALS, BUT THAT THIS IS SOMETHING HE THINKS COULD BE FEASIBLE IN THE FUTURE.

7. COMMENT. EBAN TAILORED HIS PRESENTATION TO EMPHASIZE THE

IMPERMANENCE OF THE ISRAELI PRESENCE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE RAFAH JUNCTION AREA, EBAN SUGGESTED CONSIDERABLE GOI FLEXIBILITY IN ANY FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. EBAN DID NOT SPECIFY WHAT HE MIGHT HAVE IN MIND IN IMPLYING THERE MIGHT BE TRADEOFF OF SOME KIND POSSIBLE BETWEEN NATURE OF ISRAELI PRESENCE AT SHARM AND ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY IN RAFAH JUNCTION AREA. IT MAY WELL BE THAT, AT THIS POINT, HE HAS NOT THOUGHT ABOUT THIS IN ANY GREAT DETAIL AND MAY HAVE BEEN JUST THINKING OUT LOUD. HE REPEATED THE THEME, HOWEVER, THAT ONCE AN ACTUAL NEGOTIATING PROCESS WERE TO START, COMPROMISES WERE TO BE EXPECTED.

8. EBAN'S REFERENCES TO POSSIBLE FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS WERE IN STARK CONTRAST TO MY CONVERSATION WITH DAYAN SEPT 10. DAYAN IN THE COURSE OF OUR 45 MINUTE CONVERSATION NEVER ONCE MENTIONED THE WORD NEGOTIATIONS (TEL AVIV 7092). AS FOR ATMOSPHERICS AT THE LUNCHEON TABLE, THERE WAS AN OBVIOUS STRONG UNDERCURRENT OF ANTIPATHY ON THE PART OF THE ISRAELIS PRESENT BOTH FOR DAYAN AND FOR HIS VIEWS.
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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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